

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

FOURTH YEAR. No. 2.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1901.

Whole No. 157.

MORE VIEWS ON WORK OF THE CONVENTION

OBJECT AND METHODS OF A SOCIALIST PARTY

A Practical and Progressive Platform is in the Line of Social Development—The "Revolutionaries" and Step-at-a-Time Reforms

By BEN ATTENBURY

In the construction of a platform that will meet the wishes and receive the endorsement of a large majority of Socialists, it is not necessary that it contain an argument for Socialism or constitute a statement of Socialist principles. A statement of the principles and an argument can not be made short—not short enough to print on the corner of an envelope or a membership card. A statement and an argument must necessarily define terms, set forth basal principles and inquire somewhat into the nature of a Socialist society.

These are matters for the lecturer and propagandist to deal with. They do not belong in a platform at all; or, if they do, then Socialism is strangely unfitted to the ways of practical politics, to which we are, in a large measure, compelled to submit. But I believe that Socialism can be made to fit, if Socialists themselves can be made practical and rational, instead of utopian, sentimental and revolutionary.

Without compromising by so much as a syllable our attitude toward capitalist industry, or abating by one jot or tittle our firm adherence to that form of Socialism which has for its ultimate purpose the complete overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Social Democracy, we will, if we be practical men and rational, do something not inconsistent with our philosophy to induce other men who love freedom and hate tyranny (and will never all be in our party) to help us "overthrow" as much as possible of the system we oppose.

I am one of those who, in spite of all the heroic babble of the "revolutionaries," believe that a man can be a Socialist—a revolutionary Socialist, mark you!—and yet favor a practical and progressive program of measures designed expressly to alleviate the condition of the workers now living. My interest in the human race is limited to people now alive and doing the world's work. If there is anything that can be done to lessen their sorrows and burdens, I want to contribute to it. I object to following the "tactics" of priests and preachers who have deened the people with the spiritual soporific that makes them resigned to the trials of this life in the hope of a "blessed existence hereafter." Let us hope there will be no revival of that doctrine in the Socialist movement, that Socialism will not be "spiritualized" in that sense.

It is in the power of the people to make their own economic heaven. What they lack is the consciousness of their power. They will do well not to heed the Socialist phrase-makers who promise a millennium in the sweet by and by for all who have suffered in the army of the proletariat here and now.

While a statement of the principles and an argument for Socialism cannot be made short enough to serve the purpose of some "scientific" platform makers, and would be of no practical value to the cause if it could, nevertheless, a working program, such as common sense suggests, conditions require, and Socialists will accept, can be made short enough to print on a small card.

What is it that Social Democrats want? What is our object?

AN INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH FOUNDED UPON THE SOCIALIZATION OF LAND AND CAPITAL.

Very good; let us say so. Let that be the first sentence in the platform, expressing the OBJECT of the party. More than that is unnecessary; just so many phrases to be explained, and since whatever we say we will have to explain, the less said the better.

So far as we are concerned in the attainment of the industrial commonwealth, what methods do we propose? In a condensed form our methods are as follows:

THE EDUCATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKERS.

THE INDEPENDENT REPRESENTATION OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES ON ALL PUBLIC BODIES.

So much for our OBJECT and METHODS. It is enough. It covers every essential point in our present long and entirely useless preamble. It is better than the hotch-potch of words of either the S. L. P., the "Kangaroos," or the Social Democrats. And in saying so this writer is not throwing bouquets at himself. It is a statement, almost word for word, of the object and methods of the Independent Labor Party of England, a party which has, I believe, elected more Socialists on public bodies than any other Socialist party in the world.

As to "immediate steps" to be taken, when we are anywhere in a position to serve as public administrators, common sense says "have a practical program in line with social development." No argument the "revolutionaries"—foreign or domestic—have yet made, has influenced me against the enunciation of a progressive (I had almost said "step-at-a-time") platform. One step at a time, well taken toward the co-operative commonwealth, even though it be the common ownership of a street-railway system in Chicago, is far better than fanatical air fanning. It is on the line of social development and ownership. I have observed that wherever we have succeeded in electing men to office they have, without a single exception, chosen the step-at-a-time policy—from necessity, as it were—just because there was no other course open to them. I have further observed that all the strictly "revolutionary" Socialist publications are very largely made up—again from necessity—of step-at-a-time reading matter. It's funny, but true. "Cut out the immediate demands," says Max Hayes, but he edits a paper—the official organ of the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, of which body he is secretary—which carries at its masthead twenty-six immediate demands for city, state and nation. Among them I find the single tax; as to the rest, they are in the main excellent.

Let Socialists look out, lest by indifference and a too rigid insistence upon the "idiocy" of "reforming" anything, they be rightfully charged with aiding the establishment of a spurious Socialism, ruled by a class and bestowing no benefits upon the people.

Then I am in favor of the "immediate demands?" Why, certainly. Hurrah for the social revolution!

There is one conviction that forces itself continually upon the minds of American Socialists more than another, it is that the movement has not yet found its best expression organically—that the existing forms of organization are entirely inadequate to requirements. There is very great diversity of opinion on the subject. The Herald will, therefore, devote this page to the discussion of plans for organization. Correspondents are requested to be as brief as they can and present their ideas on this important subject. Wanted—A Form of Organization: Who Has It?

THE CLASS STRUGGLE FORCES REVOLUTION

In an oration at Cambridge, Mass., June 27, Wayne MacVeagh, United States Attorney General under President Harrison, made this statement in recognition of the struggle between capitalist and wealth producers:

"Now it is at least quite possible that in the not distant future American politics may transform Mr. Webster's warning into history, for our electorate is already beginning to be divided and must, in obedience to the law of social evolution, continue more and more to be divided by that sharp cleavage which separates those who are contented with their lot from those who are discontented with their lot."

"Under whatever disguises, called by whatever names, inheriting or seizing whatever partisan organizations, the alignment of the two great political divisions of American voters who will sooner or later struggle against each other for the possession of the government will inevitably be upon the basis I have named."

"The party of the contented will be ranged under one banner and the party of the discontented will be ranged under the other, and that alignment will steadily develop increasing sharpness of division, until the party of the discontented, being the majority, has obtained the control of the government, to which under our system they are entitled, and then they will be sure to remodel the present system for the distribution of wealth, unless we have previously done so, upon bases wiser and more equitable than those now existing."

"The one party will be, under whatever name, the party of capital, and the other party will be, under whatever name, the party of labor."

Jay Gould first went to New York City in 1853, with his improved mouse trap. He enlarged it to catch bulls and bears and judges. He was so successful that he caught old Commodore Vanderbilt. He secured a fortune of \$70,000,000 or more, died, and sleeps in a \$50,000 mausoleum. He knew the value of a judge, and paid spot cash.

A NEW VIEW FROM TEXAS

By E. S. PRICE

Margaret Haile's article in last week's paper (6-22) very properly emphasizes the need of something different as the result of our approaching convention, from the merely political unity accomplished last year; that satisfied no one, because there remained as before two separate national organizations, each claiming to be the real head of the movement for a more liberal Socialist party and at the same time uttering the De Leonites in the narrowness of their acts and policies. The leaders, moreover, all seemed mistrustful of each other, and the personal abuse and misrepresentation that followed so disgusted many people that they gave up all idea of union. Now if there is to be any substantial coming together of the liberal forces, these leaders must bury their personal suspicions and animosities, or at least keep such to themselves.

Next, we must organize as one party, in fact, and obliterate all the old party lines. Let the S. L. P. stay out. Every great cause has its factions, representing, generally, the radical and the conservative sides of the movement, and it matters little whether these work in the same harness or not; their opposition is wholesome, because it generates new ideas and prevents on the one side case-hardening and stagnation, while on the other it heads off undue looseness and waste, thereby forestalling corruption. There is much in the uncompromising conservatism of the S. L. P. that we would do well to copy; their criticisms

of our loose methods are often only too well deserved, I am sorry to say.

Most Texas Socialists whom I have talked to favor a national organization on the general lines of the existing parties, but want to see a more rigid system for regulating the admission of members and a more effective plan for the collection of funds. In our state organization we have the contributive system; no dues or fees. My plan for raising the national revenue would be practically the same; have the national committee or its executive board notify the various state board or committees when money is needed and what it is for; the state officers, in turn, to notify their respective locals or branches. Many a man, who will pay 50 cents or \$1 dues and think he has done his whole duty, will respond much more liberally to a call for a specific fund or purpose; on the other hand, there are many to whom the payment of even 50 or 25 cents dues is, at times, impossible. They are out of work, maybe, and this little money may mean half a week's living; yet for the lack of it they must not only go hungry but must stand suspended. I want no such system.

While steadily advocating the contributive system, however, as opposed to dues-paying, I must, as steadily oppose Comrade Johnson's suggestion (in the same paper) that our state and national secretaries be required to work for nothing; this work is heavy, and, if properly attended to, will take up the whole working time of any person filling such office, often requiring assistance, particularly during active campaigns.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST FORCES IN AMERICA

What a Review of Conditions Elsewhere Shows—Causes That Stand in the Way of a Real Union—True Socialists Essential to True Unity

By J. S. McDONALD

The only country where Socialists are united and well organized is the cradle of modern Socialism—Germany. A close examination of the causes of this union and organization reveals the rather startling fact that the various Socialist groups and factions were cemented together and are kept united and organized into an apparently homogeneous political party more by the pressure from outside produced by the hostile police state, than by the inner cohesion and mutual attraction among the Socialists themselves. As a matter of fact there is more of mutual repulsion than cohesion among various Socialist groups and factions all the world over. The Socialistic movement is figuratively speaking, in a gaseous state, where the single molecular groups may be kept close to each other only by an outside pressure. The disunity and disorganization of Socialist forces is the more remarkable because it is in direct opposition to the very fundamental principles of Socialism, that (if it stands for anything at all) certainly stands for unity, organization, co-ordination of forces and co-operation. Socialism is centripetal, not centrifugal, in its most essential features.

Some superficial observers are rather inclined to place the responsibility for disunion among various Socialist groups at the doors of the so-called leaders of the movement. These so-called leaders are accused of constantly intriguing against the union of Socialist forces, either for the gratification of their petty personal ambition or out of mere cussedness and love of mischief. These accusations may be well founded in singular cases here and there in respect to some party bosses. We have, however, too much respect for the rank and file of Socialists to concede that these petty bosses are the main factors of the pronounced absence of cohesion among various Socialist groups. The actual factors in this disunion and disorganization are the rank and file of Socialists themselves, or rather some of their inherent qualities. To the overwhelming majority of Socialists, Socialism as a philosophy of life and as a program of action, is still in an amorphous condition. There are utopian, anarchistic, dogmatic, religious, rationalistic Socialists; there are evolutionary, revolutionary, state, democratic and any other imaginable kind of Socialists. There are almost as many

conceptions of Socialism as there are Socialists.

That such a pronounced divergence of the fundamental conception must lead to a divergence in views on the practical task to be accomplished in party tactics, is obvious to any unprejudiced mind. Is it then to be wondered at, that the motley crowd of people with different conceptions of fundamental principles and different views on their application, called the rank and file, of various Socialist groups, are not easily united in one political party? It would be strange if it were otherwise. Elements having little affinity to each other do not form any chemical combination under ordinary conditions. "Union and organization of Socialist forces" is the watchword of Socialists at present. The mere pious desire, however, must prove insufficient for its realization as long as actual conditions militate against it.

A real, live union of Socialist forces is only possible when the Socialists of different warring groups agree on the fundamental principles of Socialism and on a definite plan of action, or platform. No amount of good will and generous enthusiasm can mix oil and water into one homogeneous liquid. The opinion that the weakness of the Socialist movement is due to the imperfections in its organization is only a half-truth. It is true that a building may be weak, due to faulty construction. You can, however, build no brick house without cement. The absence of Social cement, of cohesion among Socialists is the actual cause of the weakness of the Socialist movement. Socialists delight to indulge in preaching solidarity, class consciousness, co-operation and many other excellent things, but do not practice what they preach. As a matter of fact there is no class of people on earth showing less solidarity, possessing less class consciousness, less inclined to co-operate in the interest of a common cause, than Socialists. As a rule various groups of Socialists care too little for each other, have too little confidence in each other, have too little respect for each other to sacrifice any of their private notions and prejudices for the sake of the common cause. Each of the respective groups is convinced that it alone possesses the genuine "ring of truth," while the rest have only cheap imitations. In short, there is entirely too much of conscious and unconscious anarchism among Socialists. Socialists have still to learn to realize that in order to succeed in their struggle against the excellently organized forces of capitalism, they need a strong and effective organization based and conducted on up-to-date business principles by the most talented, devoted and energetic members of their rank and file. Far from realizing the importance of organization, the very life-blood of Socialism, a great number of Socialists have no feeling of loyalty whatever to their own party, are jealous of the imaginary power and influence of their so-called leaders and try to crucify them wherever and whenever a chance presents itself.

It is with a feeling of deep mortification and shame, that we feel bound to state here in the interests of truth, that Socialists as a rule are far from being methodical and generous in their financial transactions with their own organizations. The ridiculously small membership dues are seldom remitted in proper time and place, if at all. Socialistic organizations are consequently in a state of perpetual financial insolvency and the paid officers in abject poverty. Charity begins at home and so does justice. Socialists feel called upon to abolish the exploitation of human labor. But we, Socialists, start with exploiting unmercifully our own trusted servants. Are there any appropriate words in the English vocabulary strong enough to chastise this financial slovenliness of Socialists? Yes! "Unity and organization" indeed, not in name only, is what Socialists need. But in order to accomplish it they have to undergo themselves quite a painful metamorphosis and turn into Socialists indeed instead of Socialists in name only, pursuing a selfish policy of mutual strife and competition.

Democratic Herald

Published by the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

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Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
134 Washington St., Chicago.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote 1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 97,024

Rockefeller is putting tanks of oil into railroads, some improvement on wine and water.

It is astonishing how opulently the rich supply clothing for the naked every time they take a bath.

Every strike pleads the cause of Socialism—demonstrating that the world needs a new and better civilization.

Positive good, comparative better, superlative best. The superlative is way up, and that's the reason Socialists aim high.

The strikers nowadays want a larger slice of McKinley's prosperity and more leisure to enjoy it. Their demand is rational.

A white flag with the Star of Bethlehem in the center—with the motto, "In truth we trust"—is good enough for Socialists.

There is a large element of sentiment in Socialism, but a still larger element of science, and its philanthropy is backed by its philosophy.

Socialism, in full flower, will make strikes unnecessary. In the Co-operative Commonwealth all will be union men, including women and children.

Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I had his Cromwell, and McKinley has his Mark Hanna—a case in which tragedy, comedy and farce are combined.

Congress should make an appropriation to supply flowers for the decoration of the tombs of the Dead Constitution and Declaration of Independence.

The flag is older than the Constitution, which may be the reason it prefers to go it alone without any entangling alliance with our "grand old Magna Charta."

Common sense is not so common after all, as some people seem to believe. Indeed, it is a very rare commodity, especially among phrase-mongering Socialists.

The strike in the Holyoke paper industry closed twenty-five mills and gave 3,500 employees several holidays. The strike was for more wages and a less number of working hours—immensely proper demands.

The Democratic party is still talking of reorganization. The trouble is to reorganize William Jennings Bryan. Formerly his mouth was an obstacle, to which he has added his pen, and now reorganization is more difficult than ever.

The city debt of New York is \$283,042,000; of Boston, \$56,000,000; Philadelphia, \$43,000,000; Chicago, \$26,000,000—a total of \$408,042,000—with interest at 4 per cent will take annually from labor \$16,321,680. Labor pays all taxes.

The Fifty-sixth Congress wrestled with 14,330 bills, to say nothing of Bill McKinley, and made 1,640 laws for the empire. In addition, it appropriated more than a billion dollars of the people's money, much of it worse than if it had sunk to the bottom of the sea.

The generally accepted notion among half-hearted friends of Socialism that in the end justice will prevail, should not operate to prevent any man who sees injustice from raising his voice against it. Because what is not ripe in May is no reason why it should not be cultivated. Because most of the people are not ready to accept ideas of justice is no reason why the ideas should not be sown.

The machinists are teaching capitalism a very healthy lesson.

Error is a mountain, but Socialism proposes to hew it down and out of sight.

It now appears that employers, taking contracts to execute certain jobs, insist upon a proviso relating to strikes. Union workmen have taught them the value of caution. As a general proposition there is never a strike when there is not a well-founded grievance demanding redress.

A piano trust has been organized. Hay, McKinley's Secretary of State, who is a poet and an expert musician, plays "Yankee Doodle," the "Devil's Dream" and "Speed the Plow"; also the Nisarguan Canal Schottish on Lord Pianoforte in a way that pleases all Europe.

Warren C. Brown, editor of a labor paper in New York, was caught in the Seventh National Bank failure to the extent of \$1,600. He had confidence in the bank (and Perry Heath) and thought it could not go wrong. But it did and Brown has paid the price of his misplaced confidence.

The great coal-mine combine of Indiana has been perfected with a capital of \$15,000,000, the purpose of which is to "ginger" the market. We have "ginger pop," ginger bread and "ginger whisky"—and a ginger coal combine may prove palatable.

Against the Constitution, Brown, Gray, Shiras, White and McKenna. For the Constitution, Fuller, Harlan, Brewer and Peckham—five to four—a majority of one killed the Constitution, wrecked the republic and established the empire. Thomas Jefferson said the Supreme Court would do that very thing—and there you are.

Goldsmith sang: "Man wants but little here below, Nor wants that little long."

That is when Old Goldy put his foot in it. In this age of progress and poverty, war and famine, religion and rascality, guns and gospel, men of the J. Pierpont Morgan brand want the earth to hand down to their heirs and assigns forever.

Professors of statesmanship are of the opinion that republics like Switzerland may get along very well, but that a republic like the United States must be governed without a constitution, become an empire and be under an iron-handed despotism. It does look that way under the ruling of the Supreme Court.

Rev. Sheldon of Topeka, Kan., issued his pronouncement to usher in the domestic service millennium, when the heroines of the dishrag, the broom and the scrubbing brush should have a plate at the family table and eat with the master and mistress of the house. Presto! the Sheldons crawfished, and the maid of all work had to eat by herself or quit. She retired and left the Sheldons to do their own work. Good!

Under Socialism there will be no arbitrary rule relating to hours of labor. If the work required can be done in four hours, there will be twenty hours of each day remaining for rest, leisure, pleasure and sleep. Men and women redeemed from drudgery will reach that mind, soul, heart and physical development which will make the earth a paradise and childhood as beautiful as the lilies of the valley.

The British machinists may have \$8,000,000, awaiting a strike in "Merrie England," where working men are not as happy as clams at high tide. That any portion of the fabulous sum will come to the United States to help the striking machinists is not worth discussing. Union labor in the United States will have to learn self-reliance—and remember that it is the battle, not the dress parade, that makes the soldier and the hero.

Employers, in dealing with workmen boast of "our business." They have the capital, the machinery, the tools, everything but labor, without which "our business" becomes the business of workmen since without labor "our business" is a demitition barren ideal. Indeed, there is no business without labor. The fact is that workmen have a divine right to speak of all industries as "our business."

When a Japanese princess has a baby the Kwan Po, the imperial organ, announces the fact by saying: "The white storks have risen from the branches of the pine tree, and, with widespread wings, have launched into the blue depths of the sky; the wooden rice kettle has been thrown from the palace roof; the high court messenger is on her way to Isle Temple, and Japan may know that the happiness of womanhood has come to the Princess Sadako, and, through her, great joy to the people."

The Decay of Nations

A great deal is being written nowadays about the "decay of nations" and the fall of empires, kingdoms and republics, and, historically, it is interesting reading, and as the United States is entering upon an imperial career, may serve some practical use. The obliteration of ancient Egypt, Persia, Palestine, Rome, Greece, etc., in every instance was preceded by wars, conquests, wealth, luxuries, crime, extravagance, pomp and parade and effeminacy, taxation to support kings, priests and a rotten and corrupt nobility.

To say that "history repeats itself," though trite, is nevertheless worthy of consideration, since there is a general consensus of opinion that Spain, France, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece and some other states of less consequence are, from causes similar to those which wrecked the ancient nations, far advanced on the road to their ultimate decline and fall. Nor is the British empire exempt in the discussion. Its vast debt, its large navy, its great army, its South African war, its famine-cursed Indian possessions, its hemispheric colonies, its crushing taxation, its support of a royal house, its dependence upon other nations for food, create perils which cannot be contemplated without forebodings that decay has made such advances that its decline and fall from its position as a "world power" is already in sight.

Under the old regime it required centuries to build an empire, and other centuries for them to decline and fall. We do things in that line more expeditiously in this age of lightning and steam. As for instance, but yesterday the United States was a "hermit republic," minding its own business, with a written Constitution the supreme law to which all yielded a cheerful allegiance. Today the republic is practically wiped out, and an empire has taken its place. The Constitution has gone glimmering—an army and navy has taken its place and a debauched Supreme Court, sworn to support the Constitution, has thrust it aside and contributed its great authority in the establishment of an autocracy upon the ruins of the republic, and no ruler, now living, is clothed with powers more absolute than are exercised by William McKinley.

To carry forward the imperial program money is essential, and behind McKinley stands a debauched Congress, ready, when he touches the button, to give him all he asks for, and behind Congress are the trusts, and behind the trusts is Mark Hanna, who can command any number of millions imperialist may require for the purification of its policy.

The great American republic is no more—the Constitution is as dead as a prehistoric herring. How long will the empire survive? That depends. If the people still love liberty, are still loyal to the Constitution, they may end its days in 1903; or, omitting their opportunity to restore the republic, a thousand years may elapse before archaeologists will excavate the mounds in and around Washington City to find some relic of the time when the republic existed.

Church vs. the Church

Socialists, and other reformers, have occasionally referred to the churches in a way less complimentary than was relished by the clergy, and perhaps sometimes too hypercritically, though it must be said that circumstances seemed to justify the censure. Socialists claim no privilege to arraign the churches for any dereliction of duty. They care absolutely nothing for religious creeds and dogmas, rituals and forms of worship; but as the churches set up a sort of "divine right" to instruct the people, Socialists have deemed it prudent to remind them, from time to time, that their performances fall short of their professions, and that whatever may be said of "faith," "works" is the test by which faith is to be judged. And here it may be said that Socialism is willing for the churches to point out, with all the severity they can command, any instance in its professions which are not vindicated by the work it is performing. In this connection it should be said that Socialists hail with special satisfaction indications that the churches have begun an investigation of their own delinquencies—a virtual indorsement of Socialism's arraignment. In this line, Rev. Julian Sturtevant, speaking for the clergy, remarks that "the temptation to shirk our work because there is no one to urge us on; the temptation to look for advancement in worldly affairs by pulling the strings of power in our congregations; the temptation to pretend we are friendly with every one when we are not that way."

Manifestly, Rev. Sturtevant knows what he is talking about and the "temptations" to which he refers are the rocks upon which the churches are wrecked, or seriously disabled.

In addition to Rev. Sturtevant's arraignment, Rev. Atwood H. Purcival, to get at the bottom of the matter, concluded to interview a large number of clergymen, and in a circular letter asked them to answer the following interrogation: "What are the difficulties peculiar to your field in the way of the

progress of religion?" The responses were numerous, novel and crushing, and we give them, as the Rev. Purcival has scheduled them for the public eye, as follows:

Ambition to be on equal footing with others in style of living and dress; and if possible outstrip them.

Blaming the church for coldness. Apathy after giving energies to outside organizations.

Covetousness, card-playing, craze for pulpit novelties.

Debt, divisions among Christians, dancing, dyspepsia of spirit, so that neither the milk nor meat of the word can be assimilated.

Erroneous views of God's word.

Frivolity, formality and false teaching.

Gambling and gossip.

Haste to be rich and scarcity of homes.

Intemperance, indifference and inconsistency.

Jealousy in the ranks.

Knee drill neglected.

Love of gain, low moral tone of politics.

Mistaking means of grace for grace.

Neglect of family religion.

Ordinances irregularly attended.

Pleasure seeking, political corruption and poverty.

Quack evangelists.

Rivalry between denominations.

Sabbath desecration, skepticism and slander.

The trinity of evil, the world, the flesh and the devil. The theater.

Uncharitableness, universalism.

Vanity in individuals and churches.

Worldliness.

Young and old denominated by the principle, "Enjoy yourself and don't get hurt."

Zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls wanting.

Socialists will bear in mind that in the foregoing arraignments the case is "the church vs. the church," and Socialists with great propriety may felicitate themselves that in whatever they have said regarding the churches they have not exceeded the limits of prudent criticism, and at the same time rejoice to know that the churches have not been deaf to sundry suggestions Socialists have made whereby better conditions may be secured.

HERRON'S LETTER TO THE CHURCH COUNCIL

From the letter addressed by Prof. Geo. D. Herron to the committee appointed by the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa, to call a council of churches to inquire into his ministerial standing and church membership, we print the following extracts:

The responsibility for the circumstances which call you together rests upon me, where the public has placed it. It seems wholly unnecessary to say this, for no hint of blame upon any one else has reached my eyes or ears, while I have been universally condemned. It does not seem worth while to suggest that such a crisis might come to a life without any one being morally to blame, so we will let the responsibility and condemnation rest just where they are. I should not count any one my friend who would undertake to defend me at the expense of another.

I would ask you to kindly let me explain, however, that I did not desert my children. No father loves his children more than I. But I have long held it a principle that children belong first to their mother. Where such a separation takes place, if the mother desires all the children, they are rightfully hers, and no consideration man would take one of them from her. Besides, in this case, I think the children would choose their mother, who has been their constant companion, except when she was twice absent with me in Europe. They are not babes, but are arriving at some years of capacity to choose for themselves—the oldest of them just blossoming into womanhood. This may not be known to you, because of the fact that I have not yet reached middle life; but it may be understood when you take into account the fact that the marriage annulled took place before I had quite reached my twenty-first birthday. Furthermore, when I turn from the desires of a father's heart to what is best for the children themselves, I think their choice of their mother would be wise; for they will have a good mother, and the life of a man given to the Socialist revolution cannot fail to be more or less the life of an outcast, as the revolution intensifies and arrays a ruling class against a working class in a final issue and crisis.

In this connection, I would like to say that I do not see why the matter of adequate financial provision should have been made a basis of complaint or discussion. Certainly, it was the right and duty of the mother of these children to accept such provision, in simple justice to herself and them, as it was my privilege and duty to provide to the utmost. As to what friends enabled me to do this, that is a matter into which the public has no right to inquire, so long as those concerned are satisfied.

As a council, you are acting in defense of what you believe to be the sa-

credness of the family institution, against which I am to you an offender. In order that your action on this point may be complete, let me say to you that I do not believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good. It rather seems to me to be the destruction of the liberty and love and truth which make life sacred and worth living. If love and truth are the basis of morality, then a marriage system which makes one human being the property of another, without regard to the well-being of either the owned or the owner, seems to me to be the very soul of blasphemy and immorality. The family founded on force is a survival of slavery, and one of the expressions of the slave-principles on which our whole civilization is built. It is a mode of the superstition which thinks it good for human beings to own each other, and good for the race to have all its sources and tools of life owned by the few who are strong and cunning enough to possess them.

All that has come upon me, in this for which you condemn me, springs from an effort to be the truth, to make my life appear what it is, even though that which is light to me be black darkness to the world. I cannot speak what I seem to see as truth, without living out all the truth about myself, even though the living of truth destroy my opportunity to speak. If in trying to be truthful to the world, I have lost all means of serving it, then let it be so. The life which you condemn me for not living was a lie. Yet I fruitlessly tried to convert it into truth, in order to be moral and self-denying according to the standards of religion and private ownership. The life I now live is the truth, though these same standards condemn me for living it. I will accept obloquy and destruction from the world and not complain, nor defend myself, nor ask to have any cup of punishment pass from me; but I will not live a lie—not to win or keep the favor of gods or men. The anguish and cost of reaching this point God knows; but I have reached it—or rather been precipitated upon it; and it is this that brings me under your judgment and the world's condemnation. It seems useless and hopeless to say it, but the crisis which brings me under your judgment springs from a moral agony to be true to what I take to be truth. I may be mistaken, or stupid, or mad, or anything you like, but I have acted from the highest right I know, and from the deepest sense of truth and honor I have. Of the monstrous things charged against me, in this wild flood of devastating gossip, I know myself to be guiltless; my soul is white from all of that. And, in the long run, that is enough—enough that a man be conscious of the rectitude of his own soul. In the reach of the centuries, it does not matter what the world thinks a man is; what a man actually is—what he knows himself to be—is all that matters. Sometime and somewhere, if the universe be sincere or rational, the truth will care for its own.

And now you may judge us. But let me say that I would rather be the worst that has been said about me, rather be worse than the severest denunciation has made me out to be, than to sit in one of your places as my judge, or in the place of those clergymen who have sought to destroy my good name without knowing anything of the causes or facts they were judging or asking me as a brother if I had any explanation to give. If my good name is gone, and my small value to the world with it, I think the church has paid a dear price for this destruction, however worthy its motives. The spectacle of venerable and prominent leaders of the church competing with a vulture press in a hunt for irresponsible gossip, and for convicting and blasting appearances—the eagerness of some of these influential clergymen and laymen to make the most and worst of the defenseless position of a man they have tracked and laid in wait for—their pitiless digging at the roots of the sacred sorrow and tragedy of a life, in order to get at its secret and prove thereby that its teachings are false and its deeds evil—all this is a revelation of the spirit and temper of the church that will not be lost on the working class, and that will not fail to disclose the immense and awful gulf between the spirit of Jesus and the church that claims His name.

Referring to the death of Bill Woods, late United States judge, the newspapers say he first became famous through his decision in the Debs case in 1894. That is a mistake. He first became famous in the "blocks of five" case; in the other he became infamous.

The cash register strike at Dayton, O., is off. But who won, is not given out. Perhaps it was a compromise in which less money is to be paid for flowers and esthetic folderol, and given to the employees to provide their own homes with such adornments as they please. Paternalism and parentalism are out of place in industrial affairs, and in any case when the fads are boomed the boomers make money by the scheme off of those whom they delude.

BERNSTEIN'S CRITICISM OF MARXISM CONSIDERED

There is an Innate Idealistic Propensity in Human Nature that No Amount of Economic Teaching will Ever Eradicate

By W. L. BENESSI

I have read the few points in Bernstein's criticism of Marx, and I came to the conclusion that if these points are scientifically true, then Marx lived and wrote in vain, and our present industrial and political system is as good as can be expected, taking human nature into consideration—for Bernstein does not seem to think that it can be changed, and if it cannot be changed, then Socialism is a delusion and a snare.

I may be accused of presumption, but I will nevertheless offer my modest criticism of Bernstein's views (a French proverb says that a dog may look at a bishop), and review the points one by one.

Point 1. There cannot be any economic foundation to spiritual life, unless the philosophy of life is dualistic; but, if Socialists are willing to accept metaphysics as a science, then they could understand more satisfactorily the past and the future.

Point 2. Socialism is not the successor of capitalism, but the road to communism, and even when society reaches that state, the end is not yet.

Point 3. Revolution does not necessarily mean destruction; all progressive constructive thought is revolutionary; but I agree with Comrade Bernstein that not only the proletariat (as the term used to be accepted by the old school of Socialism), but a great number of other social factors, must co-operate to change economic conditions for the better. All revolutions, not evolutionary, are to be avoided as much as possible.

Point 4. The fact that the surplus value created by the worker enables another class to grow rich had to be demonstrated by some one; therefore Marx has rendered a great service to the masses that read.

Point 5. The prospects of Socialism depend on the increase of the national wealth, it is true, but we must remember that under the competitive system one nation prospers at the detriment of another; the United States just now is what might be called prosperous. Germany, England and Austria, being manufacturing nations, are not; therefore, if Socialism grows in one nation (and strange paradox, it grows very slowly in the United States), at the expense of another, it is not international; and if it is not international, it is not Socialism.

Point 6. It is not true that the share of mammoth production is about the same in the United States, England and Germany at the present time, because, if this were true, the share of prosperity would be about the same. United States statistics prove that the great majority of failures occur in the medium and small industries.

Point 7. As long as the working class and all lovers of true democracy permit capitalism to manipulate the markets, capitalism will manage to stay on top.

Point 8. "The Proletariat" is a misnomer. It meant something forty-five or fifty years ago, and as it was the class that suffered the most, the early Socialists took up its grievances. It is right here that Socialism based on materialism will fail, because it will allow a certain aristocracy of the intellect and those favored by nature with better qualifications; higher intellect, etc., will be prone to either look down upon or pity the less favored. A philosophy that would teach that "before the great cosmos all men are equal" would do away with this to a great extent, and establish a true bond of brotherhood.

Point 9 proves that co-operative associations that have to compete with capitalism which controls the raw material and the means of transportation, will have very meagre success until the personnel becomes efficient to manage them right; when this happens, capitalism will step off its perch.

Point 10. I agree again with Comrade Bernstein, to a certain extent. Before we can have a solid, strong Socialist movement we must teach all classes utilitarian and altruistic democracy, so that not only class rule, but class as well, may disappear. As the balance of this section applies to Prussia only I will review the last one.

Point 11. I most emphatically do not agree with Comrade Bernstein; in his criticism of the sentence in the communist manifesto ("the proletariat has no fatherland") that "this sentence has lost its truth, and will keep on losing more and more." Why it is this very fact—this subdivision of the earth under different governments, etc., that makes capitalism the master of the situation, and hinders the ultimate object of Socialism—the International Co-operative Commonwealth—and, although I, for one, am as good an American citizen as can be expected of a thinking man, and who would help defend the nation against an invasion, yet if I thought that in due time national lines were not to be

abolished, I would look at the emblems of Socialism with scorn and at its expounders as demagogues.

And now permit me to reverse the Cartesian proposition and make it read "Je suis; donc je pense," and offer it as an apology for the following paragraphs:

All thinkers are aware that climate, diet, topographical abode, physical or intellectual occupation, etc., will always determine more or less the moral and intellectual activities of the individual. For example, inhabitants of a volcanic country will act in harmony with the element they live in. Beef-eaters will act different than rice-eaters. People from the plains, the mountains, from the frigid zone, the temperate, the torrid, will have different ways. Briefly, man will always be influenced by environment more or less, and there are environments that Socialism cannot change by economic procedure. Therefore, I think that we cannot afford to ignore metaphysics completely, inasmuch that man is ever reaching to grasp an ideal.

I have held the same views that Bernstein holds for years (and I have never read Bernstein nor Marx, either) "that life is influenced by currents of thought and feeling, not originating in economic relations."

Confucius and Buddha proclaimed the golden rule and advocated the brotherhood of man thousands of years ago. Socrates laid the foundation of psychology; Plato of democracy, but Julian the stoic had to give way to the Galilean! Therefore, this proves that there is a bond, subtler if not stronger than the bond of material self-interest ready to bind the units of society in a harmonious whole, and this bond is the true religion and we may safely build upon that; for, while economic determinism is logical to a certain extent, yet, it does not cover the entire field of human investigation, and it is this very prime factor—this bond, that Bernstein probably unconsciously alludes to when he makes the above statement.

There is an innate idealistic propensity in human nature that no amount of economic teaching will ever eradicate; we must take this in consideration if we wish to see society reconstructed on an altruistic basis. The onward way will become wonderfully clear if men will look at this propensity as the bond of spiritual solidarity; and I might add that if materialistic philosophers will not accept anything beyond the realm of biology they are guilty of lese-humanity.

Monistic philosophers may safely accept metaphysical deductions, because, reasoning from a cosmological point of view human reason can conceive that matter may become so rarified as to become intangible and beyond the scrutiny of cosmometric analysis.

Ergo: Man of his own free will may become lower than the brute; or he may become sublime, and economic activity is only the means to attain this end. We call this economic activity scientific Socialism; if its mission is not misunderstood it will make humanity sublime; and as the end justifies the means, we are revolutionary Socialists. William L. Benessi.

The students of wealth and want, of progress and poverty, of providence and piracy, etc., have object lessons challenging their powers of investigation in the mysterious processes of evolution in three notable estates created during the nineteenth century—the Astor, the Vanderbilt and the Gould estates. The Astor estate evolved from a coon skin, the Vanderbilt estate from a mud-scow, and the Gould estate from a mouse trap. These estates have all grown to colossal proportions within a century. The Astor estate, the least spectacular of the three because confined to real estate, lands and buildings about which the great public know absolutely nothing, except that it is monstrously large. The Vanderbilt and the Gould estates attract more attention because they involve in a large measure public interests in the way of transportation. In the aggregate their estates are estimated at \$750,000,000. Their owners never performed a day's work in all of their lives. The Astors collect rents and the Goulds collect toll, and extend the lines of their railroads over the continent, and are, therefore, constantly in the public eye. Labor, and only labor, has contributed in making such estates possible.

A cousin of the President, John McKinley, in the Topeka, Kan., poorhouse, it would seem, has not been a beneficiary of the McKinley prosperity that has deluged the country. Mark Hanna might bend a trust to the extent of getting John a cheap boarding house. Grand Duke John in a poorhouse is a sort of a black eye for the reigning family of the empire.

COMMERCIAL ENVIRONMENT

By REV. CHAS. H. VAIL

It is a law of nature that all things must be adjusted to their environment. In the struggle the fittest survives. On the human plane it is not necessarily the morally fit or best that survive, but the one best fitted to survive in a certain environment. In the days of physical combat the man best fitted to survive was the one with powerful physique. In these days of commercial combat it is not strength of body, but cunning of brain that counts. The moral status of the individual is not a consideration in either instance unless it interferes with the exercise of the qualities necessary to success. If in the days of physical combat one's moral ideals should cause him to be less brutal, he would fail in the struggle for supremacy. The same is true in the commercial struggle. Lofty moral ideas are often a hindrance to business success. Warfare is warfare, whether physical or commercial, and a man to succeed must not be too tenderhearted; in fact, moral qualities place one at a disadvantage. Yet this is the system upheld by many calling themselves Christians! They often perceive and complain of the evil, yet are either unable to trace the wrong to its source or, unwilling because of selfish interests or through moral cowardice to point out the cause.

Man wakens to find himself in the midst of this struggle for life. He cannot individually change the environment, so must adjust himself to it or suffer the consequences. Occasionally one tries to introduce moral rules into the combat, but morals have little place in warfare and the fellow who introduces the innovation finds himself outgeneraled. The antagonists won't comply with his rules; in fact, in competitive warfare the scoundrel always sets the pace, to which all must comply or suffer defeat.

The commercial environment, then, is not conducive to the development of moral qualities. A condition of struggle and war always brings out the worst in man, not the best. As we have seen, we are children of our environment—molded and shaped by our surroundings. Is man, then, forever doomed to be deprived of the higher life, so conditioned that only here and there one can rise to the higher moral plane? No, man has the power to change his social environment; herein he differs from the animal creation. Man can do away with the condition of warfare on every plane of existence, substituting co-operation for existence in place of the present struggle for existence. Harmony would then be established in the industrial realm and men's interests would become identical. In the new environment the law of love and service would become supreme. Then in becoming adjusted to one's economic and social environment, he must necessarily serve his fellows, because his interests are bound up in the interests of the whole. Economic interests thus cease to antagonize moral sentiment. A new type of man becomes best fitted to survive—the man with pure instincts, high ambitions and noble character. Men will then be respected just in proportion as they embody these lofty ideals. Man's survival will not depend on what he has, but upon what he is. When the change of environment changes the requisite to success, all will be as eager to develop character as they are now to acquire wealth.

This new environment is Socialism. While man individually is unable to make the change, collectively, it is within human power. It is the immediate duty of men to see that the change so much needed is brought about and that without unnecessary delay. Let the working class awaken to its class interests and the change will be effected.

UNION OF SOCIALISTS

(Continued from First Page)

Till this metamorphosis of Socialists in name into Socialists indeed shall be an accomplished fact, the division in groups is by no means an unmitigated evil from the point of view of propaganda of Socialist ideas. Some people may be reached by one group, others by another. A rivalry between different Socialist groups is often conducive to enhanced missionary activity in behalf of Socialism in general.

An honest divergence of opinion does not necessarily involve hostility among the different groups and does not exclude the possibility of political co-operation.

At any rate a forced, artificial union in name only must result in an ephemeral political organization with no future. Such an organization would carry the seeds of dissolution at its very inception and lead eventually to a greater and deeper division of Socialist forces than we witness at present.

A man and woman who were indifferent to each other before their legal marriage are likely to hate each other after a short time of uncongenial cohabitation and part after a scandalous divorce as mortal enemies for life. Love cannot be ordered. Single blessedness is preferable to unhappy matrimonial unions.

Schwab, like the fly on the chariot wheel, soliloquizes—"Gods! what a dust I kick up!"

NEW VIEW FROM TEXAS

(Continued from First Page)

longed; it went to pieces in less than a year. There can be nothing more dangerous to the life and purpose of a Socialist organization than a membership of this half-baked hazy or anarchistic stripe. My plan, as adopted by the club of which I am a member, (5th Ward Club Houston), calls for the election of a committee of three or five well posted members, whose duty it is to personally examine and test every applicant for membership before recommending his rejection or admission, each application being held over, always, until the next subsequent meeting, to give time for a thorough investigation and report; as a result, we have a club of thirty-four intelligent, well informed Socialists, any one of whom could be trusted to represent the club with credit as a delegate or to serve it as an officer. The "half-baked" are welcome as visitors, but they do not get in as members until they have learned what Socialism is and why they want it.

Here then are my chief recommendations to the convention:

Provision for the proper examination of intending members.

The raising of funds by voluntary contribution instead of dues and fees.

The establishment of a national party paper, to be published locally by the different states and edited jointly by the local staffs and a national press committee.

The payment of suitable salaries to the state and national secretaries, and to the national press committee; also to any other officers or committees whose time is taken up by their work for the movement.

R. S. Price.

Del Rio, Texas.

A negro by the name of Walter tells what the negroes of the United States have done since their emancipation, and are still doing to improve their condition. "There are," says Walter, "2,500,000 negro pupils in public schools in this country; 45,000 students in higher institutions; 35,000 negro teachers; 30,000 negroes learning the trades, and 3,000 pursuing classical and scientific courses; 1,500 pursuing business courses. The negroes have raised for educational purposes, since their emancipation, \$13,000,000, acquired church property worth \$15,000,000 and 150,000 farms worth \$450,000,000." If negroes, a despised and inferior race, but yesterday chattel slaves, can do so much in working out their salvation from the lowest depths of degradation and ignorance, in the name of reason, what may not a superior race accomplish in emancipating itself from degrading conditions and environments imposed upon it by capitalism?

ANNOUNCEMENT

It gives us pleasure to announce that we have bought out the entire pamphlet department of the International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane street, New York, said company having concluded to confine itself to the publishing of bound books, so as to deal more largely with foreign translations and keep pace with the rapidly developing literature in the field of social and economic science.

The purchase includes the entire stock of pamphlets, plates and copyrights and embraces the following high-grade publications:

A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches; by Tom Mann. Price, 5 cents. Socialism and Slavery; Answer to Herbert Spencer; by H. M. Hyndman. Price, 5 cents. What Socialism Means; by Sidney Webb. Price, 5 cents. What is Capital? By Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 5 cents. Real Socialism; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. Socialism: A Reply to the Pope's Encyclical; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. Object of the Labor Movement; by Johann Jacoby. Price, 5 cents. The Living Wage; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. The State and Socialism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents. Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents. The Workingman's Programme; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents. The Right to Be Lazy: Being a Refutation of "The Right to Work" of 1848; by Paul Lafargue. Price, 10 cents. Wage-Labor and Capital; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 10 cents. Open Letter to the National Labor Association of Germany; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents. Science and the Workingmen; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 25 cents. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; by Karl Marx; with portrait of Marx as frontispiece. Price, 25 cents. The Civil War in France; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 25 cents.

If Socialist editors, to whom this announcement may come, will kindly give it such notice as space will allow, we shall be glad to reciprocate as opportunity may permit.

To all Socialist branches, agents and speakers ordering in quantities, we will make a liberal discount from above prices, prepaying charges.

We will make the complete set of above pamphlets (17) to one address, prepaid, for \$1.35. Address: Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

Socialists know they are right, and that's the reason they go ahead.

LOCAL BRANCHES

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 o'clock, at Adolphus Hotel. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, at the same place. Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John O. Wesley, 127 Turk street.

Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodman's Hall, 1254 Spring street. J. S. Bremer, 427 N. Hill street.

Branch 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1260 Folk street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 100 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrup, secretary, 25 Kinsley street, Hartford.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greig's office, 22 Dearborn street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Teut. ward, Chicago meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, 55 Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 741 S. Morgan street.

The Southwest Side German Branch of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at Ed Gotke's Hall, 927 Blue Island avenue (near Lincoln street). Secretary, R. Pusch, 223 S. Wood street.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 p. m., in Duender's place, 1000 W. 18th place. Joseph Duender, secretary.

Branch No. 6 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 a. m., at 2025 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambros, secretary, 490 Wood street.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at Ludovick's Hall, 2146 Aberdeen street. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 2146 Aberdeen street.

Branch 2 (Slovak) meets every third Sunday in the month at Plinger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 127 Stanwood avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month, at Reichert's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Calkin, 303 Warren avenue.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman. Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 141.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 3, Newport, Ky., meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock at Socialist headquarters, 414 York street. A. L. Nagel, secretary, 308 E. Third St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, organizer, 27 Jackson street.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main street. A. Klogabury, secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 2, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., at Heldermann's Hall, 201 South Seventh street.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, secretary, 71 E. Park street.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sunday each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 3, Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Kberding, 1242 Raleigh's avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Belleville Hall, 44-46 Van Houten street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 240 Edmund street.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall.

East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 200 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 121 Norfolk street.

Branch No. 4, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 36 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Committee desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 180 Boerum street.

Branch No. 10 meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 64 Henry street.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelle's Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKern, secretary, 429 Laurel street.

Branch 3 (Bohemian) meets every second Sunday at 8 p. m., at T. J. Cook's Hall, corner Bridge and Belmont streets. Secretary, Frank Holub, Bellaire, Belmont Co., Ohio.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 4th and Flinders streets. Everybody invited. T. G. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., at 23 S. Third street. Rose Shobodkin, Treasurer, 315 Pine street.

Branch No. 4, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meets every Sunday morning at 8 p. m., at Club Moore, at 425 S. 3d street. Organizer, G. Gills, 425 S. 3d street.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 20 E. 2d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 2d street. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewster Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets. Address desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 180 Boerum street.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Gauth's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Liebsch, secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown streets. George Morschel, secretary, 22 2nd street.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. J. Luehl, 501 Orchard street, secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 214 and Center streets, at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. Knorr, 223 2nd street.

Branch No. 20, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 224 Clark street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 224 Clark street.

Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Fremont House. Edgar F. Lindner, secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA

Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1st Market street. H. A. Loebe, organizer.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to be included in the list of those who have been invited to the convention should send their names to the editor of this paper.

MODERN SLAVERY

By WILLIAM T. BROWN

"I have but one purpose in speaking tonight, and that is to call your attention to the fact that slavery exists to-day as really as it existed fifty years ago in the Southern states. I mean to say that our entire system of commerce and industry—its whole organization and operation—involves these same two classes—masters on the one side and slaves on the other. We do not call it slavery, it is true; at least most of us do not. And most of us regard it as the most natural and wise system in the world. And as the people of fifty years ago looked upon Garrison in his extravagant denunciation of the system existing, so the people of today look upon any one who indulges in equally strong language concerning our economic order. The social agitators of to-day are looked upon with the same feeling by the masters of this time that the anti-slavery agitators of fifty years ago were regarded.

"What do these workingmen want? What are these wage slaves asserting as their rights? Why, for the most part they are not asserting any rights at all. They are not asking for any rights. They are demanding concessions. They are pleading for favors. And every time a workingman or a body of workingmen in any way, shape or manner ask for more pay or shorter hours of labor, or any other thing, they simply acknowledge the justice of their condition as slaves. They proclaim themselves slaves. They declare themselves contented to remain slaves. And they are doing all in their power to perpetuate a condition of slavery. A man will demand the rights of a man. A slave has no rights, and he will not demand any. He will demand favors, concessions, steps at a time, and various things of that sort.

"Today we have on our hands another irrepressible conflict. We call it the 'class struggle.' And the same sort of dense intellects and dulled moral sense say the same things to us that they said to Garrison. They accused him of stirring up strife needlessly. 'What do you mean by talking about a conflict? Don't you know that that is a dangerous word to throw out among the people promiscuously? We don't want to hear about conflict. We don't like this setting of section against section and class against class.' The circulation of the Liberator was forbidden among the slaves. And on all hands was Garrison rated severely for sowing the seeds of discord among the slaves, setting them against their masters and precipitating trouble. His foolish contemporaries could not see that the trouble was already there and had been there during all the existence of slavery. And these people who denounced Garrison so vigorously had not a word to say in denunciation of the slaveholders or the defenders of that hideous institution.

"And now we hear the same old cry: 'Why do you talk about 'class struggle'? What do you mean by thus stirring up class hatred between man and man? We don't want to hear about the class struggle. We have no patience with these disturbers of the peace. Why not talk class love? Why not talk of brotherhood between employers and employees, between capital and labor? Why not talk of peace instead of conflict? And so is repeated the same old folly of fifty years ago. The great mass of men learn nothing but by bitter experience. They can get an idea into their heads only through a crack in a broken skull. They have no eyes to see that the source of trouble is in the system itself and not in those who would establish justice in its place. They do not see that the classes are here because industrial evolution and economic necessity have created them, that the struggle is here and has been here for years, and that it is the part of wisdom to see it and frankly recognize it. We do not get rid of a disagreeable fact by denying it or ignoring it. And he who tries that plan is a coward.

"There was one solution and only one for the question of negro slavery. And that solution was freedom. There was no half-way station, no 'step at a time' to be taken. If the slave was a man, then the rights of man were his. If he was not a man, then the whole emancipation movement was an insanity. The right to property in things is not disputed, was not then. The right to property in men was denied, and there was no compromise in the matter.

"Neither is there now. The laborer is a man or he is a beast of burden. If he is a beast of burden, he is entitled only to those rights which are accorded to a beast of burden, and he should be turned over to the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.' That is precisely what a good many people are advocating. They want that policy adopted. A beast of burden is entitled to have enough to eat and a decent shelter. It must be treated humanely. It must not be abused. It must not be overworked. Its hours of labor must be reasonable. And any one caught in the act of abusing an animal can be arrested and fined. So far as I can see that is all that is being proposed either by these alleged friends of labor in the ranks of capitalism or by a very large part of organized labor today. Humane treatment—that is the cry. The labor-

er is not getting enough to eat. He cannot buy suitable clothing. He cannot afford a good house as he ought to have. He cannot live a decent life as a working animal. These things must be secured for him. Let us have an eight-hour day. Let us have factory inspectors. Let us have the regulation of wages so that the workman shall have a 'living wage,' enough to replace the energy lost in the process of the day's labor, so as to be ready the next day to repeat the same routine. Not a single word in all this as to the rights of the laborers.

"I want to say to you as strongly as I can that I will have nothing to do with that kind of procedure. I will not be a party to a lie. I will not take off my hat to the institution of slavery in any form. I will make no terms with it. I will insist that nothing but freedom will answer. I insist that the least a man has a right to demand is his right as a man. The least a working man has a right to ask for is the full product of his labor less what may be his just proportion of what is needed to maintain the only sort of government that is needed, and that is industrial administration. Here is the key that unlocks the door of freedom for every wage slave. What do you want? What do you demand as your right? What do you understand to be the rights of man? This is the fundamental question. Here is the civilization which labor of hand and brain co-operating with nature has produced. Every particle of it has been produced by labor. Here it is before you. These cities, these houses, these streets, these railroads, these factories, these commodities of every sort, the ships on every sea, the whole equipment of civilization. Here it is before you. It is the product of your hands and your brains. Your labor has created it. And the land and the sky and the rivers and lakes and seas, the mines and forests and all the resources of nature no one created. They are the inheritance of all. And he who would keep any man from their enjoyment is a robber, a highwayman, a criminal.

"I have said tonight that the system of wage-slavery is an intolerable iniquity. And that is exactly what I mean. I mean to say that no words are strong enough to express the hideous and horrible iniquity of this system. I believe it to be far more degrading and demoralizing, both to owner and owned, than negro slavery was. And it is more dangerous than that because it is far more subtle. It seems difficult for you and me, I suppose, to understand how the men and women who owned slaves down South managed to justify the thing; how they could escape seeing the evil of it. One would suppose that the widespread immorality which it created and fostered would have made an impression, especially upon the women and upon the religious leaders of that time in the South. They knew perfectly well what was going on. And yet every sort of crime and vice was winked at and ignored. Inasmuch as the negroes were regarded as property, they were not regarded as human. It was, therefore, no sin to do what one liked with his own property.

"The fact is the maintenance of negro slavery simply undermined religion and morality and produced a nation of hypocrites. And that is precisely what industrial slavery is doing now.

"The horrors of the civil war in this country could have been averted if there had been sufficient moral stamina to precipitate the slavery question earlier and force its consideration and the abolition of the system. Garrison uttered his message in behalf of emancipation into the ears of the American people for thirty years. And the longer they delayed listening to him the more bloody was the reckoning to be. But he did his part. He and his associates were the real patriots. And the men today who are demanding the abolition of industrial-slavery in a perfectly peaceful and orderly way are also doing their part. Compromise with slavery is out of the question. To propose it or favor it is only to postpone a little longer the day of reckoning and make a peaceful solution of the problem less likely. It is an irrepressible conflict that is on. Let every man frankly recognize the fact and do his duty."

The strike of the machinists has resulted in the organization of employers to fight union labor. The result is logical and it is well that it has come. There is to be no juggling on the part of the employers—no sophistication—simply a fight to the finish. An opportunity is now offered union workmen to try the efficiency of sympathy, which touches the pocketbook as well as the heart. Still more and better, it will teach union workmen, if they expect to succeed, that federation is practically valueless which does not proclaim that success means the unification of ballots, the inauguration of a labor party whose influence shall be felt and recognized by all other parties—and it is here that Socialism comes to the front with the Social Democratic party, fully equipped to improve conditions.

The Boers continue to surprise the British in South Africa, and it is possible that some thousands of years hence the mastodon bones of the empire will be found in South Africa.

SECRETARIES, TAKE NOTICE

The quarterly dues for the third quarter of the year are payable at headquarters on or before July 5, 1901. It is urged that branch secretaries bring the matter to the attention of the members without delay. The payment of dues is important and should receive prompt attention. Branches expecting to have representation at the national convention must be in good standing. It is desirable that the representation be general and as large as possible; therefore, members are requested to pay past dues and assist the secretaries in putting every branch in good standing on the records.

Convention Arrangements

The resident members of the committee of arrangements at Indianapolis, after investigation, recommend the Grand Hotel for delegates' headquarters, and Masonic Hall as the place for holding the convention. The hall is one of the best in the city, is well supplied with committee rooms, and will cost \$10 per day. The Grand Hotel is conveniently situated; rates, \$2 per day. Comrades desiring other accommodations will communicate with Geo. E. Mills, 122 E. Court street, room 1, or W. Mahoney, 120 Pennsylvania street, Indianapolis.

Delegates' Credentials

Credentials for delegates to the convention at Indianapolis, July 29, have been sent out to all branches. If any have been overlooked the branch secretary will please notify this office at once. Attention is again called to the provision that members to be entitled to representation must be in good standing, with dues paid for the quarter ending September 30, 1901. Members are also obligated by vote of the organization, to pay the special assessment of 25 cents each. Secretaries will give the matter prompt attention, and also send to this office the names of delegates chosen.

Comrades and friends residing in Milwaukee are cordially invited to attend a basket picnic to be given by Branch 43, Sunday, July 7. There will be music, games and refreshments. Take Layton Park cars to end of line and walk two blocks to grove.

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Senator Elkins of West Virginia is working hard to get the Younger brothers out of the Minnesota penitentiary, where, twenty-five years ago, they were sent for life. Elkins, speaking of Cole Younger, the outlaw, says he is "very much of a man and a large-hearted fellow." Senator Elkins, while hunting for a brother in Missouri who had joined the Confederates, was caught by a squad of Quantrell's band, and would have been killed but for Cole Younger. Elkins feels grateful, and that's the reason why he is using his influence to obtain a pardon for the Youngers. Besides, it is not known that the Youngers killed the cashier of the bank they tried to rob. The James brothers were in the raid and escaped, which the Younger brothers could also have done if they had not tried to rescue a wounded comrade. Gov. Lind of Minnesota would have paroled the highwaymen, but was fearful of political consequences, and the probability is that the desperadoes will die in prison, in spite of Senator Elkins. Luck is against them.

Henry M. Jones in the Indianapolis Typographical Journal in writing of labor conditions in Great Britain says: "In the opinion of those best able to judge organized labor is drifting slowly but surely toward practical socialism, a tendency which is evident also in the United States. It is believed by labor leaders and union men in the United Kingdom that the people should own gas and water plants, traction lines and other public utilities. There are many instances of such ownership over there, and they are carried on to such advantage that they augur well for a general application of the idea in the future." This is true not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe, and in the United States the same conditions are inevitable. Socialism solves the labor problem, and all that is required is for making men to study the subject, and this is being done.

Charles H. Allen, McKinley's satrap in the province of Porto Rico, speaking of the climate, says: "A man can lie in a hammock, pick bananas with one hand and at the same time dig sweet potatoes with his big toe." General Allen says the island needs "fresh blood and Anglo-Saxon push." Under the empire several thousands of Porto Ricans have been pushed off of the island to find food elsewhere, and as for "fresh blood," it will flow as in the Philippine islands if the people ever demand liberty and independence.

Socialists are in politics. Necessarily so because "politics is the science of government," and science is the "knowledge of principles and causes." Socialism finds governments as they exist—dead failures. Not that here and there something is not found commendable. There is not one exception. Personified, they are from sole to head a mass of "wounds, bruises and putrifying sores," with little "soundness" in them. The mission of Socialism is to improve governments, and that is politics. It means party organization. It means agitation, discussion, the setting in motion of reformatory measures, and over all, at least in the United States, it means the wielding of the ballot to secure better government. The Social Democratic party has entered the arena to do battle for industrial government, which means righteous laws and righteously administered. In doing this it organizes branches for the purpose of getting men in line for united effort, and publishes The Herald to intensify conviction and carry forward the great purpose in view.

Father to Teacher—"What's the matter with my boy Bob? He has been under your care for a year and I don't see that he has learning anything."

Teacher—"Bob is all right; he's a smart boy and will be your pride in your old age. The trouble with Bob has been that his former teacher filled his mind full of lessons which I have been getting out of him, and now he is giving promise of great advancement."

Socialism, like the teacher, is laboring to eliminate the errors from the minds of the people, and is making cheering headway. Once the old errors are removed, Socialism will capture the country.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, a New York and European financier, sees nothing wrong in capitalization, as, for instance, if \$50,000,000 pays 8 per cent and capitalization up to \$100,000,000 pays 4 per cent, nobody suffers. In putting in \$50,000,000 of wind the \$50,000,000 money could be withdrawn, as is usually done, and the wind made to pay 4 per cent. The amount of money collected on wind, if known, would astonish the world.

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